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A MISSILE FREEZE URGED BY JACKSON

Senator Calls for One-Year
Halt by U.S. and Soviet

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 28—
Senator Henry M. Jackson, pro-
posed today a one-year agree-
ment with the Soviet Union
freezing the deployment of
most land-based missiles. He
said this would "arrest the de-
cline in the security" of the
United States nuclear deterrent.

The Washington Democrat, a
member of the Senate Armed
Services Committee who has
been mentioned as a potential
Presidential candidate, called
for an immediate agreement
that would halt the deployment
of United States Minuteman III



Associated Press

**Senator Henry M. Jackson
on TV show yesterday.**

missiles with multiple war-
heads, as well as the deploy-
ment and construction of new
Soviet intercontinental missiles
and launchers and installation
of antiballistic systems defend-
ing population centers.

Appearing on "Issues and
Answers," a radio and televi-
sion program of the American
Broadcasting Company, Sena-
tor Jackson announced that he
would outline his proposal in a
speech to the Senate tomor-
row.

He said such an agreement
was necessary because the So-
viet had started building "a
massive system that involves
the deployment of an ICBM
[inter-continental ballistic mis-
sile] force that exceeds 25
megatons."

Earlier Disclosure

It was Senator Jackson who
disclosed three weeks ago that
the United States had detected
the new Soviet construction ef-
fort. This was later confirmed
by the Defense Department.

Today, he said, "The Rus-
sians have an ability this year
—and this is what is ominous—
to deploy between 60 and 70 of
such huge SS-9 type missiles."

"If they should deploy 70 of
such missiles," he said, "they
would have a capability this
year alone of adding more
megatonnage, or destructive
power than we have in our en-
tire current land-based Minute-
men ICBM system."

On Feb. 25, President Nixon
said in his State of the World
Message that the growth of
Soviet strategic forces "leads
inescapably to profound ques-
tions concerning the threats we
will face in the future, and the
adequacy of our current strate-
gic forces to meet the require-
ments of our security."

Mr. Nixon stressed that dur-
ing 1970 the Soviet Union had
further increased its lead over
the United States in the deploy-
ment of intercontinental mis-
siles. At the end of last year,
he said, the Soviet Union had
1,440 ICM's and the United
States 1,054.

Senator Jackson's appeal for
a freeze came amid growing
concern over the new Soviet
strategic arms programs and
the apparent stalemate at the
talks in Vienna on bombing
strategic arms.

Humphrey Asks Moratorium

In a major Senate speech last
Thursday, Senator Hubert H.
Humphrey, Minnesota Demo-
crat, another potential Presiden-
tial candidate, introduced a
resolution calling for a mutual
moratorium on deployments of
offensive and defensive weap-
ons and MIRV testing while the
U. S. and the Soviet Union
negotiated a ban on antiballistic
systems.

Senator Humphrey criticized
the Administration for insisting
on a comprehensive agreement
with Moscow on both offensive
and defensive weapons, and
suggested that an antiballistic
accord come first.

The Senate disarmament sub-
committee, headed by Senator
Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, the
leading Democratic Presidential
contender, is scheduled to start
closed door briefings this week
on the status of the Arms-
Limitation Talks and the Soviet
threat.

During his television appear-
ance, Senator Jackson said that
in the talks with the Russians,
resumed in Vienna on March
15, "the real problem that we
face is that, the Russians ap-
pear to be going ahead on an
unabated basis with a very
large offensive land-based sys-
tem."

He said the new Soviet ac-
tivities "would put into serious
question the credibility of our
second-strike force" and that
"if the Russians continue to de-
ploy these huge offensive sys-
tems we will have to take an-
other look at our whole deter-
rent posture" and "at the need
for more offensive systems."

THE WASHINGTON POST

Asks U.S.-Soviet Halt for a Year

Jackson Urges Missile Freeze

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) yesterday proposed an immediate one-year freeze in deployment of the most important Soviet and American land-based missile systems.

The senator, whose views are close to those of the Nixon administration, made public on ABC's television program, "Is-

ssues and Answers" (WMAL), the proposal he will make in a Senate speech today. Aides said, however, he had not discussed it with the administration.

His proposal was in sharp contrast to one made last week by his fellow Democrat who is a possible 1972 presidential nominee, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.). Both pro-

posals are reflective of alarm in Washington over the deadlock at the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) and over new reports of Soviet missile development.

In the four meetings thus far of the current Vienna round of SALT the United States has found itself on the defensive in the face of a Soviet proposal made last December for an initial agreement to limit rival anti-missile (ABM) systems.

Humphrey last Thursday in a Senate speech, in effect, advocated accepting the Soviet offer provided it is linked to later success in negotiating a limitation on offensive missiles.

But Jackson termed the Soviet proposal "completely unacceptable." Instead he offered this four-part one-year plan:

1. "The United States would immediately halt the deployment of Minuteman III missiles with their MIRV (multiple) warheads." The first 50 of these missiles were converted to MIRV warheads last year, and the Pentagon plan calls for 550 such Minuteman IIIs.

2. "The Soviet Union would immediately halt the deployment of new ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) launchers and missiles including those now under construction."

Based on Photos

That latter phrase refers to what Jackson yesterday again called a "new" Soviet missile

system, a judgment based on reconnaissance photos of new silo construction in both European Russia and Siberia. Jackson added that the Soviets have the "ability" to deploy 60 to 70 of what he termed "such huge SS-9 type missiles" this year.

Deployment of 70, he said, would "put into serious question the credibility of our second strike force." The Soviets now have around 290 of the

SS-9s, a giant missile capable of holding a 25 megaton warhead.

3. "Both countries would retain the freedom to assure the survivability of their strategic land-based forces so long as they did not add to their offensive potential." Jackson explained that by this he meant the right to further "harden" missile silos with more concrete and steel.

4. "Neither side would deploy a population-defending ABM. Jackson, like the Nixon administration, considers the American Safeguard ABM system as a "light" rather than a "thick" or population defense. But the Soviet Union at the SALT talks has indicated worry that Safeguard could become a thick system.

Jackson's alarm about the new Soviet silos is shared by the administration although thus far there is no agreed administration intelligence estimate as to just what the Soviet Union is up to. Work on new SS-9 silos, somewhat smaller in size, has been new silo work was first photographed in early February.

Free to Continue

Jackson was careful to point out that under his proposal the United States would be free to continue deployment of what he called "the much

smaller warheads of the MIRVed Poseidon missile on our Polaris submarines." The first such Poseidon sub will go to sea this spring and 31 of 41 Polaris subs are to be refitted to take the new MIRVed missile.

Thus far, the Soviet Union,

as far as is known, has not deployed multiple warheads on either its land-based or sea-based missiles although MIRV testing has been going on for some time.

Humphrey called for suspension of deployment of both Safeguard and MIRVs on Minutemen and, in return, called on the Soviet Union to suspend its own land-based missile program and its MIRV testing.

But Jackson, like the administration, would have no part of an ABM freeze. He argued that the Soviet proposal "would accelerate the decline" in the stability of the existing balance of nuclear terror.

President Nixon has publicly rejected the "ABMs only"

proposal by Moscow, declaring that any SALT agreement must have "some mix" of both offensive and defensive weapons systems. However, many arms control experts outside the government and some in Congress favor the "ABMs only" approach as a beginning.

To encourage Soviet acceptance of "some mix" the administration has gone to Vienna with a trimmed down proposal. What has been eliminated are what are termed corollary conditions for limiting rival ICBMs. Essentially, this means the United States is asking only that the Soviets accept a numerical ceiling of around 2,000 missiles for each superpower.

This number, however, would include a sub-ceiling by number for missiles over a certain size, a provision designed to limit the SS-9s that also would limit whatever the Soviets intend to put into the new, larger silos now being built.

One reason for the strong administration resistance to an "ABMs only" agreement is pragmatic. It is feared in high administration circles that if there were such an agreement it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to get from Congress the money to either complete the initial Safeguard phases now under construction near Minuteman sites in Montana and North Dakota or to protect Washington if there were an agreement limiting ABMs to the Washington and Moscow areas.

The Jackson Freeze

As usual, Senator Henry M. Jackson has got it about right. His proposal for an immediate freeze on further deployment of American and Russian land-based offensive missiles is the first we have seen that makes any real sense.

The Washington Democrat's proposal is based on the very real possibility that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in progress in Vienna may be overtaken by events. Progress at the talks is understandably slow. And while they continue, the relative stability of the nuclear balance, on which the success of the talks ultimately will depend, is being seriously threatened by a continuing buildup of Soviet offensive weaponry.

What Jackson suggests is an interim arrangement to stabilize the situation while the effort to reach a comprehensive agreement goes forward. For a period of a year, both Russia and the United States would undertake to halt the further deployment of land-based intercontinental missiles, including those now under construction.

Both countries would be free to take measures to assure the survivability of their existing strategic land-based forces as long as these measures did not add to their offensive potential. Neither side would deploy antiballistic missiles designed to protect population centers — as opposed to missile sites — from nuclear attack.

The proposal, unlike others that have been heard, faces up to the central reality of the nuclear balance. Deterrence of nuclear war depends entirely on assuring on both sides the capability for a retaliatory nuclear second-strike. Stability is threatened whenever one side — in this case the Russians — begins to achieve a capability of destroying retaliatory forces with an opening attack. It is also threatened by deployment of an ABM system designed to protect cities against a retaliatory blow.

The Jackson plan, if accepted, would have the effect of stabilizing the present balance. It would give no advantage to either side in terms of first-strike potential. It would permit further protection of retaliatory forces, through greater hardening of missile silos and through the deployment of ABM defenses, designed exclusively for the protection of missiles.

The great question, of course, is whether the Russians would even consider such a proposal. What they are urging — incomprehensibly supported by some American politicians — is a ban limited entirely to defensive missiles, which would have the effect of destabilizing the balance at an even faster pace. They might well reject the Jackson proposals out of hand. But were they to do so, the Soviet intentions at the SALT negotiations will be clearer than they are today.